

Hoover Institute

By PHILIP VALENZIAN
(This article in 2 parts)

In less than a decade, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace has expanded from preeminence as a library to become a major center for research and publication.

Since 1950 it has raised over \$7 million, more than in its previous forty years, capting that effort with the construction of the Lou Henry Hoover Building and the opening of a \$5 millionowment drive.

Unanswered Questions

But that decade has left unanswered by controversial questions. Many scholars criticize the Hoover Institution what they claim to be disreputable scholarship and political activity imoper in an academic environment.

At Stanford the cries of outrage are ally articulated, carrying with them criticisms and questions about the relationship between the University and the institution. A relationship which many city members claim to be ambiguous best.

What motivates such claims? Why has Hoover expanded? Where

are the funds generated, and the politics, if indeed they exist? Why is the scholarship considered disreputable, and exactly what is the relationship between Stanford and the Institution? And maybe most unclear: where is Hoover headed? Basic to any answers is the question: what is the Hoover Institution?

More Than Library

The name itself implies it is more than a library. But the collections are central to the whole structure. It was founded as a library by Herbert Hoover nearly half a century ago.

Soon after the outbreak of World War I, Hoover conceived the idea of collecting documents, mostly primary sources such as newspapers and government publications. At the end of the war he came to Stanford, his alma mater of 1885, seeking expert assistance. Supplying his own money and personnel, he founded the Institution.

After the war, a team of Stanford researchers swept through Europe searching for significant records. This pattern of intensive search by scholars was followed during the Second World War

and is continued today by specialists at Hoover.

Present Library Holdings
The library now contains over one million books, pamphlets, and government documents. There are also over 28,000 newspaper and periodical titles. In total the library contains about one-third of Stanford's library holdings.

A library of this size creates large problems of administering, acquiring, and financing. The Hoover Institution is directed by W. Glenn Campbell, but the daily running of the library is handled by Witold S. Sworakowski, associate director, who will retire at year's end.

Sworakowski oversees the eleven divisions of the collection. Each division has its own curator and the major ones each have a complete staff.

Divided Into Six Areas

The library is divided into six major area collections. These are East Asia, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Latin America, Africa, and Western Europe including Great Britain and the United States. East Asia and Eastern Europe contain the most extensive holdings.

Expansion, Controversy

Most of the library's material pertains to war, revolution and peace since the middle 19th Century with great emphasis on documents of the 20th Century. Materials on communist revolution and communist society are the pride of the Institution.

Each collection has its share of rare and valuable resources. A tour with Sworakowski leaves no doubt of this. As he winds down the stacks of the 14-story tower, one sentence continually reverberates: "Look at this one. But wait only a minute. Then you will really see something."

Czar, Goebbels, Mao...

The trail through a special elevator, locked vaults, and yellowing pages includes stops at the original drafts of Czar Nicholas's abdication statement, the files of the Czar's secret police, the diary of Joseph Goebbels, and original writings of Mao Tse-tung.

The library also holds the collection of the late Boris Nicolaevsky, a top expert on Russian politics. It is widely considered to be one of the world's most valuable collections of Russian political documents.

Sworakowski describes the acquisition of such material as, "a game, with competition from other libraries." Last year Hoover spent over \$150,000 purchasing documents, receiving another \$27,000's worth through gifts. The total budget for library expenditures this year is \$350,000.

Much of this sum goes into tracking down documents, plus shipping and cataloging them. Getting important rare material from communist countries, a specialty of the institution, often involves extensive travel and major outlays.

Chinese Problems

The East Asian collection has run into such difficulties recently stemming from the disruptive Cultural Revolution in Red China. John Ma, curator of the collection, just returned from a three-week trip to Taiwan and Hong Kong in search of materials no longer accessible through direct contact with Peking.

The Hoover library used to get over 130 journals and newspapers from Red China through an exchange with the National

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Controversy Over Growing Institute

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tional Library in Peking. In re-
turn, Hoover would send Peking
materials published in the United
States. Ma says that Hoover is
now lucky to receive "30 propa-
nda journals a month."
Ma described his new sources
of information on China. "We
deal mostly with non-com-
mercial book dealers, news ag-
encies, and people in Hong
Kong who can still travel in and
out of China, including smug-
glers. We also get information
on radio monitoring reports
prepared in Japan."

Secret Collections

Part of the library holdings
include collections that are se-
cret and closed by request of the
donor or a person involved in
the documents. Svorakowski
says the library now tries to
limit requests for secrecy to 20
years. He admitted at the same
time that there is a backlog of
nonsecret material that hasn't
been unpacked yet, as much as
15 years after arrival at the In-
stitution. The reason: lack of
staff.

The library also houses the
Herbert Hoover Archives which
include all but Hoover's Presi-
dential and Cabinet papers. The
archivist is Rita Campbell, wife
of the director. \$35,000 of this
year's budget is earmarked for
the Hoover collection. Mrs.
Campbell, however, estimated
only 25 to 30 people use the Ho-
over Archives each year.

Despite the impressive reputa-
tion of the Hoover library, a

constant storm swirls about the
Institution, touching even the li-
brary.

Changes are continually made
that there is no plan for acqui-
sitions, only a spontaneous desire
to get exotic material at any
price.

Expenditure fluctuations
Other critics point to fluctua-
tion in Hoover library expendi-
tures, questioning how much
commitment the Institution has

toward building the library.
In 1959-60, 65 percent of the
budget or \$232,000 went into the
library. In 1961-63, with the li-
brary now under Campbell's di-
rection, only 40 percent of the
budget went into the library, al-
though the cash figure increased
to \$433,000. This year \$330,000
will go toward the library and
the percentage has again risen
to over 50 percent.

Sharpest criticism, however,
falls not on the library itself,
but rather on the structures
built around it. Some critics,
claiming militant anti-commu-
nist activity by Campbell and
Svorakowski question whether
the library is being used as a
base or even a cover for an in-
stitution that cares more for
propaganda than scholarship.

One fact is established. The
Hoover Institution has built a
center for advanced study and
publication. Tomorrow the
library will examine what is stud-
ied, published, and thought
there.

THE HOOVER INSTITUTIONS
five-day conference on "Fifty
Years of Communism in Russia"
begins today with a few changes
in the schedule. The opening ses-
sion starts at 9 a.m. in Trevelyan
Union. Between 2:30 and 4 p.m.
there will be an open house at
Hoover Tower and at the new
Lon Henry Hoover Building ad-
jacent to the tower. Ekes Hango
Halsford, former Stanford stu-
dent, will play the 32nd all en-
tion from 3:15 to 3:45, preced-
ing the 4 p.m. formal dedication
of the new Hoover building in
Memorial Auditorium. Speakers
will include Herbert Hoover, Jr.;
University trustee David Pack-
ard; W. Palmer Butler III, pres-
ident of the Board of Trustees;
University President Wallace
Sterling; and Hoover Institution
Director W. Glen Campbell.